4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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THE DESERT PEOPLE

WORKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT

464 Most of the hundred-odd Papago who work for the Agency live with their families in Sells, although they often keep homes and fields in their own villages. These employees come mainly from the eastern districts and belong to the *kokololoti* and *totokŏwany* dialect groups, which have had longer contacts with whites than the others on the Reservation. They are predominantly Presbyterian, but there are also a few Catholics and non-Christians.

In lean years the steady wages offered by the Agency and the wider possibilities for recreation drew Papago to Sells. However, occasionally social problems arise. Girls who have gone to the Agency town have been known to get into trouble, and on one occasion within the last few years a number of girls were rounded up by the Indians and quietly sent back to their own villages. Papago children who have been brought up in Sells seem more aggressive and American in their behavior than others, and often the Papago say that the mischievous pranks and more serious escapades of school children "always start in Sells." Then, too, some of the adults who work for the government are [578] scorned by other Papago as "Agency Indians" and thus are separated from their own people, on the one hand, and from the white staff members, on the other.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE TRIBE GOVERNS ITSELF

619 The Papago tribe as a political unit has existed for less than ten years. Before that time, each village handled its own affairs, and related villages co-operated economically and socially, but there was no tribal government as such.

619 There were, however, attempts to bring together leaders from the various villages and dialect groups. For some years before the establishment of the 575 Reservation, some of the headmen and other leaders felt the need of government help in getting water developments, schools, and hospitals. They organized the Good Government League, which met regularly to discuss ways and means of attaining these ends and to draw up petitions for assistance. Characteristically, the group was loosely organized and it was completely Papago. A storekeeper lent the group a building in which to meet in bad weather, and government employees addressed them on request; but apparently no whites were responsible for the organization or its activities.

648 Opposition to the League developed among some of the old headmen and 578 certain of the more conservative communities. After the establishment of the 575 Reservation the feeling increased because, it was alleged, a small group of League members "ran the Agency" and "the superintendent always called

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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them in and did what they said." About 1925 half of the members split off into the League of Papago Chiefs, a group in opposition to the superintendent and the old League. The conflict rapidly became acute. Agency employees and other whites (including missionaries) supported one faction against the other. The opposition won out, and the superintendent was removed in 1929. The Papago say that the influence of this split still exists and that the two groups oppose each other to this day, though the two leagues have officially disappeared.

Another attempt at organization was made when three lawyers offered to represent the Papago in pressing certain claims against the United States. The Secretary of the Interior required that three Papago representatives be elected by a general council of the tribe and be authorized to sign the contract with the attorneys. Of the four men elected as officers of the General Papago Council, two came from the superintendent, and one had been neutral. All of them were boarding-school men from the southeastern part of the Reservation. The ensuing negotiations resulted in strife and factionalism among the Indians, for the rumor was circulated that the executive committee had promised the lawyers large sections of tribal land. Even near-by non-Papago towns were alarmed lest clear titles to their lands be impaired. When, at the recommendation of the lawyers, the Reservation was withdrawn from all types of mineral entry (restored with the Reorganization Act), there arose a real hue and cry from all sides. The attorneys' contract was not renewed in 1934, and most of the Agency personnel was transferred.[7]

When the new superintendent arrived in 1934, he saw the Reservation largely in economic terms and began to reorganize it to develop the cattle industry; his plans included systematic range management, grazing districts with fences, a cattle association, and an organization to provide for local self-government. In October, 1934, representatives from twenty-five villages met in Sells and signed an agreement with the government providing for some of the economic portions of this program.[8] The Indian Reorganization Act was accepted on December 15, 1934, and the Papago Tribe became legally a political unit.

To provide a basis for self-government, the Papago elected a committee of twenty men to draft a constitution. Only three of the western villages, however, participated in the elections, and five of the six-man committee which ironed out differences of opinion were *kokolaloi* members of the southeastern

7. Account drawn from U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Statistical Report, Sells Agency . . . , 1935*, pp. 35–37, and from personal inquiry.

8. The cattle association never materialized because of too strenuous opposition.

[62] [20] on the reservation. Indian residents of Sells on the whole, seem to be well aware of events occurring beyond the borders of the reservation.

Surprisingly, there is no real community organi- [166] zation. This is probably due to the cosmopolitan nature of Sells with residents having moved there from all parts [571] of the reservation. The organizations which do exist revolve around voluntary associations, churches and cliques.

Residents of Sells have garden plots and some are [434] [463] [464] cattle growers, but their main source of income is from salaries and wages, with the majority working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, and the Papago Tribe.

Santa Rosa is not as large as Sells, nor does it [368] have many of its characteristics. There is a community building, a government school, a government health center, a church, and a trading post with gasoline pumps. The community building is used for meetings which are held to plan ceremonies and various village projects. There [575] are also many voluntary associations, all patterned after similar Anglo associations, such as a Woman's Club, an Athletic Club, and a Boy Scout troop.

[634] The Gu Achi District Council meets in the community building and all political activity of the district is [178] centered here. Santa Rosa, however, in spite of progressive tendencies, contains some of the most traditional elements of Papago culture found on the Reservation.

cattle in the Schuk Toak and Hickiwan districts. Other districts, on the whole, are running far fewer numbers of livestock than in 1914. A slight decrease is shown for the number of cattle in the Baboquivari and Chukut Kuk districts between 1914 and 1962 where cattle growers now own about 29 percent of all cattle on the reservation (See Map 7). It will be recalled that growers in these two districts held about 45 percent of all reservation cattle in 1937.

In attempting to summarize the present extent and importance of stock raising on the Papago Reservation, more detailed data are available than for the past, but an accurate count of the numbers of cattle and horses on the reservation is still not available. However, increased cooperation of tribal leaders and the establishment of cattle associations (in San Xavier, Pisinimo, Hickiwan, Gu Achi, Sif Oidak, and Baboquivari districts) is making it possible to obtain increasingly dependable records.

The 1962 record of grazing units, and the "authorized carrying capacity" of the main reservation are shown in Table 13. In regard to capacity of the range, it should be pointed out that this was established in 1944 on the basis of work which was conducted some years earlier.